1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

765 are created: in the burial services, in two death feasts called Hevelsberka and Hevelakang, and in an indefinite number of all-night gong-beating memorials (*sinerua*). These obligations are then repaid over a period of years in feasts called Rolik, Baleti, and Ato, each of which, and especially the last, is subdivided into a number of parts. The last climactic feast involves the slaying of either a carabao or a sheep, depending on which is traditionally used in the lineage. For those who die violent deaths, however, special observances including the spirit-bird [766] (*hari rua*) ceremony are used instead. For those killed in head-hunting expeditions there were observances similar to those for the victims of accidents or certain dreaded diseases.

771 Remarks on religion in this volume, either here or later, do not exhaust the range of spirits recognized or the variety of observances connected with them. An indication of the diversity, as well as the assorphism, of spirit relationships is that in twenty-one households of Dikimpe and its associated hamlets there were at least fifty-six known spirits, altars, carvings, and the like. Obviously details must await separate publication, since it is not the purpose of this account to give a thorough ethnographic description, but only to include such material as is pertinent to the general problem described in Chapter 1.

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

Fantan was obviously distressed by the situation but insisted on working with me each day, saying there was nothing he could do at home. When finally wailing was heard from the direction of his house, he knew the child had died. He went home immediately, but it was not considered good form for him to enter the house crowded with wailing women. At last a neighbor went in, took the dead child from its mother's arms, and hurried off alone to bury it in a near-by field. At this point Fantan put his head down on his knees and broke out into hard dry sobs, which he tried to suppress. Weeping is considered unmanly by the culture and therefore he had less outlet than his wife, of whom wailing was expected. Characteristically enough, however, Fantan was able to transform his grief into anger almost immediately, for at that moment a friend arrived to report that his brother-in-law had just killed one of his penned pigs in order to force him to give a death feast, an expense quite unwarranted for so young a child. Fantan said as he started toward his pigpen, "I have had enough expenses. Why should my brother-in-law kill my pig, since he didn't even come to be with his sister when her child died?"

115 593 [576] [766] 115 152 [607]

DESCENT FROM THE HOUSE

Four to six days after the birth the first descent of the mother and child into the outside world is marked by a trivial ceremony in which a few neighboring kinswomen may assist. The maternal grandmother, or some surrogate, plants sweet potatoes and piles stones near the house verandah. The plants and stones may be represented by weeds nd pebbles. By this act she releases both the mother and the father from the restrictions on vigorous labor. A few other precautionary measures may be taken, all within the range of sympathetic magic. The mother then leaves the house and is bathed for the first time since giving birth. Tubesful of water are poured over her back, arms, and legs. That afternoon the father gives a small feast to repay the wife's kin for their contributions and services. For a few more days the mother is inclined to stay near the house and perform only the easier household tasks.

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The descent from the house marks the beginning of a wider diet for the child. At this time premasticated roasted bananas and vegetable gruels are added to breast feeding. The gruel is poured into the mouth from a coconut-shell spoon. The premasticated bananas are given the infant either with the hand or directly from the adult's mouth.

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At this time, too, the infant's contacts expand. He begins to be a center of interest and is passed from hand to hand. Everyone seems entranced by small babies and many people will ask to hold and fondle

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1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

567 627 685 766 When Senmani heard that his child had actually been sold, he gave her up, saying, "Now we won't get the child back. So we shall consider her a person dead from violence and provide her with a human head as her spouse." He then sent a friend to get a head from Fungwati, and the friend returned with the head of an adult man.

593 567 This story has some interesting facets. It cannot be said that the parents did not care for their child, but it is significant that they were so ready to abandon her. They might have followed her to the village into which she was sold and bought her back for about four dollars. That would be the standard price increase for a second transaction on the progressive sale of a stolen child. Instead, however, they gave up the child and bought a head that must have cost them about sixty dollars, indicating that vengeance and prestige were more important to them than the child itself.

868 The opportunities for children to acquire attitudes of fear are not always so direct and drastic. Many sources of fright are more subtle and covert. For instance, if a child in racing about the uneven and stony paths of the valley stumbles and falls, the adults will shout at him in harsh and frightened fashion for his awkwardness. There is in the community a very marked fear of even this form of accidental violence or injury. Its origin is not accounted for by the natives, and the only explanation that occurs to me is a very legitimate fear of the infection that so often sets in where there are open wounds.

869 855 775 Late childhood is undoubtedly the period when individuals acquire their fear of supernatural beings. Children are in full possession of the speculation and gossip concerning supernatural malignancy or poisoning that surrounds many deaths. These supernatural spirits are everywhere, living near springs, trees, ravines, and rocks. It is practically impossible to avoid their habitations; all one may hope is not to offend them. Children who are their victims can be saved only by having their adult kin perform the proper sacrifices, and such sacrifices are never [755] begrudged by adults. Long-delayed death feasts are sometimes given by men whose children's illnesses have been diagnosed as the work of angered ghosts. There is ample evidence to indicate that parents are thoroughly solicitous for the health of their children, at least within their own cultural patterns. They are less convinced and therefore willing to make an effort where European medication is concerned.

869 775 Similarly, during this period children must absorb fear of the spirits of the violently dead, a category which includes those who have died from accidents, warfare, dysentery, smallpox, and leprosy. The child has every opportunity to observe the elaborate ceremonial and financial de-

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

is, the closest lineal kin of the murdered man receives from the sellers gifts of which he does not partake, whereas the more distant Male House kin may eat freely of the food. This parallels the procedure in death feasts, at which close kin of the dead refuse food. After this lifting of taboos, payments are in order, but, as in the payoff of death feast obligations, they may not be made for many years. This preliminary procedure is simply a token of an obligation undertaken. In 1938 and 1939 there were still such outstanding obligations awaiting settlement, although no heads had been taken for at least twenty years.

If an enemy kills a man but does not have a chance to decapitate him, the home village of the victim itself decapitates him, puts the head in an ash-filled basket, and hangs it in a bamboo thicket or on a remotely located platform. Before putting it aside, however, the six potential buyers of revenge shoot arrows into the head of their kinsman and urge his soul to go out and find six sellers, that is, six avengers. The head is "fed" every few days and whenever it smells food it is supposed to cry. This assures the kin that the head is still there and that it has not been stolen by an enemy for resale.

In all this system of revenge the head is actually of minimal importance. One can sell the fact of a death without producing the head. On the other hand, any head will do if a lineal kin wishes to buy one and make an honorific (i.e., financial) settlement for a death. In such a case, a stolen head will do as well as any other.

At the payoff for the head the sellers must first be appeased, and, as in all financial settlements of this sort, there are hours and hours of haggling, of derogations, of threatened withdrawals, and of attempted chicanery. When claims of the various ranks of creditors have been met, the climax of the ceremony is to bring the head onto the dance place. Since the real head has usually long since disintegrated or been lost, a cowrie shell or a stone wrapped in coconut fiber can be substituted. The bundle is woven into a closed coconut-leaf container like those made for cooking raw rice and is lashed to the end of a pole. A volunteer, who is paid a small fee, stands with the pole and its bundle on the village boundary. He calls the buyers to come fetch the sellers and the bundle. The buyers and their female kin assemble in full regalia in front of the head bundle and begin "dancing" it into the village.

The dance is a vigorous challenge dance resembling the gestures used by men in debate. This dancing of an object into the village is also used for house posts, valuable mokos, spirit-bird bundles, and any prized objects. The sellers follow this procession. Once on the dance

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

place, the wielder of the pole begins switching the bundle rapidly back and forth as he circles the dance place six times. He is surrounded by the buyers, who try to beat the head bundle as it flicks back and forth. At the end of the sixth round the buyers seize the pole and bundle, rush to the village edge, and toss the bundle off into the bush, where no further attention is paid to it. Now the dead kinsman has a "spouse" (i.e., the fellow victim) and will not return to make trouble for his living kin. The thrashing given the head bundle is supposed to kill the spirit of the spouse so that it too will no longer be a menace.

The final ceremonial gesture is the mock feeding of the buyers. They stand in a row on their dance place and a piece of rice cone is offered them. They pretend to take a bite, but actually the rice is rapidly passed over their shoulders to children standing behind each buyer, who run off and eat it secretly. This appeases the dead kinsman. The same procedure is repeated by the sellers on the village boundary. This appeases the spouse of the dead kin.

It is consistent with the picture drawn so far of food and finance that the malignancy even of souls cannot be fully appeased until gestures of this sort are made. The cost of such appeasement must act to curtail excessive head-hunting. The financial costliness of placating the dead is true also for the ordinary death feasts and for the spirit-bird ceremonies that replace the death feast series in cases of violent deaths. This latter type of ceremony parallels in form that just described for a human head. There are three or four species of small birds which, when killed and dried, may be sold as spouses for those dead from accident or from dysentery, leprosy, or smallpox. It is important in terms of local values that even though a man has caught a spirit bird he may not use it to appease his own dead kin, but must buy one from some other set of six captors.

An instance of nice adjustment occurred when the Dutch put an end to head-hunting. Spirit-bird ceremonies were substituted for head ceremonies where vengeance had not yet been secured, so that the soul of the murdered man could be appeased. The Alorese were caught by cultural changes between the fear of their dead kin and the living Dutch. Fortunately they had at hand a ceremonial device they could, and were willing to, substitute in order to avoid this dilemma. If this device had not been available it is possible that the natives would have feared their dead more than the Dutch garrison and that head-hunting would not have ended so quickly and easily. As it was, the solution was probably as much of a relief to the natives as it was to the government.

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

Melanesians the Atimelangers cannot be considered ghost-ridden. The interesting point is that these potentially malignant dead are always one's most immediate kin. People have two souls. At death one goes to a village below if the death has not been violent. If it has been, the soul goes above (*adiy bong*), and a spirit-bird ceremony must be given for it. The second soul is the one that loiters about the village boundary and against which precautions are taken at the time of burial.

It is at this time that the soul is particularly dangerous because the deceased wishes company. To placate it in this early and more potent phase of malignancy and to relegate it to the village boundary there are special feasts, the Hevelaberka held on the fourth day after death and the Hevelakang on the ninth day after death. During these nine days a few minor restrictions are observed by the family, including taboos on salt, bathing, and sexual intercourse. During that time there may be also one or two all-night gong-playing memorials (*sinewai*), including the feeding of the guests who attend. It is during these nine days that there occurs all the ostentatious use of pigs and the incurrence of debts, which must be repaid in subsequent years, or even generations, in a series of feasts called Rolik, Baleti, and Tila (also called Ato in its final phase). The first two of these feasts are named, significantly enough, after two ways of preparing rice; the first refers to rice rolls, the second to small woven containers in which raw rice is boiled.

The third feast can really be broken down into a number of ceremonies. To the whole series I have given the name of the first ceremony, (*Tila*), which means *string* and refers to the purchase of either a sheep or a carabao for the final and supreme death feast after which the soul of the dead is banished from the village boundary and thus from interference in human affairs. The motivations for giving payoff feasts have already been discussed in the chapter on adults and institutions. The pressure of creditors, prestige, and, perhaps most often, illness of descendants lead to these final ceremonies. The dead become impatient and annoyed at the lack of postmortem prestige and manifest their displeasure by making trouble for the living.

As soon as an illness is diagnosed as the manifestation of a displeased soul, a small quantity of rice is offered it in a bamboo container raised on a pole. From here on, plans for a payoff feast should get under way; but frequently long delays occur, and it is hoped that meanwhile the small original offering will stave off the soul. In addition, the dead may withhold good crops if the smaller garden feasts are not made in the fields they have worked or if they are not named and fed at a series of new-corn rituals owned by various lineages. All this placation of the dead

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

food, so now fetch me some again." I gave him a corn bundle. He built a cement wall here. 159x

[Meaning of the parents' coming?] That means they or someone is surely coming. Before the nonya came I dreamed that she was coming. [Meaning of the bags of cement?] That means the nonya will buy a big moko. [Gathering stones?] That means the nonya is accumulating money to buy a moko. [Giving corn?] It means I have already given away the soul of my corn, so that I won't have a large crop this year. [Why were the gongs silent?] If the gongs don't beat, it means that no one will die, not even those who are sick. [Maima's asking for her comb?] This means that by and by there will be a very hot sun and no rain will fall. 159x 737

We went to cut weeds, twelve of us. We were fighting in play, the boys and the girls. Fuima struck at Fanlang with a cassava stalk. Fanlang fell and hit his forehead hard, so that he had a big wound. He was dizzy. Fuima ran away to her grandparents in Bakudatang. Fanlang stayed in his house for two or three days. Then he said Fuima was to bring leaves of a certain kind to put on his wound. She did and his wound healed. Then we all worked together again cutting weeds. 159x

At that time men were burning over a small area to drive wild pigs. Djetlang of Atimelang was killed by a person from Kalmaabui. They carried his body here, tied it to a tree, and cut the throat [i.e., cut off his head, because no slain person may be buried whole]. Then the villages of Alurkowati and Atimelang made war on Kalmaabui. They killed Lomai. Because of this we didn't go to our garden for many days. [224] [766]

Then the people of Atimelang decided to go make war on the people of Manetati. They went past Luba. The people of Luba had made pitfalls with sharpened bamboo on the trail. Maughaka fell in and was wounded. He was carried here and died. [725]

[I brought her back to personal anecdotes by asking for relationships with relatives.] We were all cutting weeds. The men cleared a space at the top of the field so the rats could not escape. There were many rats, and each time we got one we would fight about it. We fought because some had rats and the others, who had none, wanted them. We gave them to mother and father each time we caught them. [Question.] Mother and father scolded us for fighting and playing all the time. They told us to finish cutting the weeds.

The next day . . . [here she told a similar anecdote of cutting weeds and rat hunting]. We got a great many, and they were all divided up so that each woman had two to take home in her basket.